602 582 842 [614] Since relatives belong to the same sperm-blood strain, they should not marry. Although members of the same sib are not necessarily related in the biological sense, the idea of their relationship is extended by the assumption that every member of a specific sib is descended from a single common totemic ancestor. The degree of similarity in the sperm-blood strain in two persons is thought to depend upon the number of generations back to their common ancestor—common parents being the closest, a common totemic ancestor alone the most distant. Relatives in the female line are included in this theory, but only the children of the biological siblings of the [572] mother are considered to be related. *Friends* are brought in line with this theory as a result of being scarified at the same time, so that their blood is mixed on the bark slab on which the operation is performed. The close female relatives of a [608] *friend*, therefore, should not be married. Since the *ceremonial father* scrapes a boy's tongue and penis at the age-grade ceremony in order to purge him of bad blood and stimulate his growth, their blood too becomes associated. In consequence, a boy should not marry the close female relatives of his *ceremonial father*.

582 602 [578] [583] The Kwoma also believe that the marriage of relatives breeds in-group antagonisms. The relatives of the bride must often bring strong pressure to bear on the groom in order to collect the bride-price. Implied threats of sorcery are not at all uncommon, and insults are usual unless the payment is promptly made. If such bickering should take place between relatives, it would weaken the power of the in-group, and therefore should be avoided if possible. When the bride-price is paid, on the other hand, the families of the boy and the girl become "safe" with one another, and thus if they were previously unrelated, the in-group is extended. If the two families are already related, this advantage is not gained.

[183] Despite these sanctions, marriages not infrequently occur between relatives, most commonly between *brothers* and *sisters*. This deviation from the Kwoma ideal follows in part from the factor of proximity as described in connection with philandering. Such a marriage may, in fact, result from a

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

and cons carefully. The principal arguments against the match were that the two were of the same sib and that Mar was already engaged to a girl of his own hamlet. Mar and his supporters countered that, although he and Aya were of the same hamlet, they were of different lineages and were not very closely related. "Close enough to make their offspring sickly," argued those who were opposed to the match. The fact that Mar's sister had married Aya's brother was brought up as precedent, but was discounted because they had not as yet had any children. Someone suggested that it was probably because they were so closely related that they had had no children. A telling argument in favor of the match arose from the fact that Mar had not received the bride-price for his sister, and that if he married Aya this would cancel the debt, thus relieving a situation which usually leads to trouble —unpaid debts within the hamlet. Another argument in favor of the match was that Mar was lazy and susceptible to sorcery (the Kwoma way of describing a neurotic), so that he might have difficulty in finding a girl who would marry him. It therefore seemed advisable to allow him to accept any girl who would have him. Mar rebutted the argument that he was already affianced to a girl in the sib by saying that she was no good and that he would never marry her. The upshot of the whole discussion was that Mar's *paternal uncles* agreed to support him if Waramus was willing. One of Mar's *paternal uncles* sounded Waramus out and discovered that, although he was not pleased with the idea, he would agree if Mar paid him a certain amount of bride-price in addition to canceling the debt owed for Mar's sister.

Mar was delighted with the prospect that the marriage might take place, and he became very friendly with Aya's brother. They went hunting together, helped each other gardening, bleached one another's hair, and even began to build a canoe together. Mar made plans to elope with Aya because he did not have enough money to pay the bride-price in advance as Waramus insisted. He arranged with two of his *sisters* to go fishing with Aya. He was to meet them, and then he and Aya would go to their bush house until Waramus

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

882 602 554 166 865 done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865 An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 578 152 The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic coöperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682] [28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

One day Gwiyap told his *sister*, Kwiya, a girl of about his own age, to copulate with her father. She retorted in an equally bawdy fashion. When I questioned Gwiyap about this behavior, he explained to me that it was customary between *brother* and *sister*. If he had said the same thing to anyone else, however, it would have been a gross insult and would probably have provoked a fight; but, he said, it was a good joke when he talked this way to his *sister*. Kwiya was one of the girls with whom he had had sex relations.

Although a *brother-sister* joking relationship is allowed, physical aggression toward a *sister* under these circumstances is prohibited. The following case illustrates the strength of this prohibition and indicates that by the period of adolescence it has already become internalized. Mar and Awa, his adolescent *sister*, were teasing and insulting one another in accordance with the joking relationship. After the exchange had gone on for some time, Awa told Mar, who had bleached his hair in accordance with the new fashion, that his hair was white because he was an old man and no longer sexually potent. Mar lost his temper at this insult and rushed at Awa, brandishing a stick. She turned and ran. Mar followed her for a few yards and then fell down and remained inert on the ground. When he did not get up, the onlookers went over to discover the trouble. He refused to answer them. Thinking that he was pretending, they began prodding him. He still did not respond, and they finally decided that he must be possessed. Later he explained that his father's ghost had appeared before him and demanded sternly why he was chasing his *sister*.[29]

An adolescent boy is permitted to be physically aggressive toward his *sister* if he catches her philandering, though he may not seriously injure her. Usually a boy's reaction in these cases is to give his *sister* a good scolding. Sometimes he may strike her on her back with his fist, or, if her behavior has been especially flagrant and persistent, he may even beat

[29] Since Mar's behavior in other circumstances showed him to be an unusually fearful person, the above case probably does not represent a normal Kwoma reaction.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

her with a stick. He takes care not to cause her serious injury because he has learned that if he did so it would be to his own detriment. He risks losing thereby both her coöperation and the bride-price that he expects to get as a result of her marriage.

An adolescent boy continues the polite and friendly relationship toward those of his kin who live outside the hamlet. As he approaches the status of manhood and its responsibilities, more positive behavior is demanded if he wishes to maintain the relationship unbroken. He must entertain his *maternal uncle*, his *paternal aunt*, and his *maternal aunt* whenever they visit him.[30] He must offer them betel nut to chew or tobacco to smoke whenever he sees them, and give them food if they come to his house at mealtime. Furthermore, if they get into trouble, he must support them in whatever way he can. If someone in his hamlet thinks that one of these relatives is responsible for a sickness in the hamlet, it is his duty to quash such a rumor. Finally, he should be willing to help these relatives if they are undertaking some major economic task, such as building a house, which calls for coöperative activity.

In addition to these rules of behavior which apply to relatives in general outside the hamlet, an adolescent boy has special obligations to fulfill with respect to his *maternal uncle*. He must pay him a fee of a specified amount of shell money at the age-grade ceremony.[31] The boy has used the privilege of taking what he pleases from his *maternal uncle's* garden and sago plot and must make a payment in return. If the boy does not fulfill this obligation, his *uncle* will not only break relationship and thus put an end to the privileges

[30] The *mother's sister* is considered to be much less important than either the *mother's brother* or the *father's sister*, and the relationship often lapses from the lack of reciprocal contact. This results from the fact that the relationship between a *brother* and *sister* is maintained after their respective marriages, whereas two *sisters* marrying into different hamlets tend to lose contact with one another.

[31] He obtains this from his father, his *paternal uncles*, his *sisters* if they have married and if the bride-price has been paid for them, and from his *nephews*.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

that the boy has hitherto enjoyed, but in addition, since breaking the relationship removes the bars that are erected by kinship ties against aggression, may actually threaten the boy.

An adolescent boy may break his relationship with any adult or adolescent[32] relative. This is the first step that he must take either implicitly or explicitly if he is seriously aggressive toward a relative. After a relationship is broken, all the restraints described in the preceding paragraphs against injuring a relative no longer apply, at least in theory.[33] The two behave toward one another as non-relatives, and the control on aggression between them operates thenceforth as it does between any non-relatives. Sorcery, physical violence, and insult now become both potential dangers and potential weapons. Furthermore all obligations of mutual cooperation are abrogated. To threaten to break a relationship is thus in itself a form of aggression of considerable power. Adolescents learn to use this threat in order to force relatives to fulfill their obligations to them, and as a means of counter-aggression. To use this form of aggression a boy must be courageous, for it lays him open to injury from his opponent.

The following case illustrates the operation of this mechanism in Kwoma society. Gwiyap had for some time availed himself of the privilege of cutting sago from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. One day War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, learned what Gwiyap was doing and commanded him to stop. War claimed that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap and proved his point by reference to genealogy. Since a reciprocal economic relationship is only set up between the closest living *mother's brother* and

[32] It is not until adolescence that a person is considered to have enough responsibility to break a relationship. Relationships, however, may be broken for a child by his parents.

[33] The training which a Kwoma receives during his lifetime to inhibit aggression toward a relative cannot at once be dissipated by simply saying, "My relationship with you is broken." The proposition remains relatively true, however.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

882 602 578 *sister's son* (i.e., between those with the fewest intervening relatives), the privilege of cutting sago properly belonged to War and not to Gwiyap. War commanded Gwiyap to stop cutting sago on Payap's plot, and also demanded that he pay for the flour that he had already taken. Gwiyap protested, but War threatened to break their relationship unless the damages were paid. Gwiyap decided that it would be dangerous to have as important a man as War against him, so he paid the fine and broke his relationship with Payap.[34] Had Gwiyap enjoyed a status equal to or higher than that of War,[35] he might have disputed the case with him. Under such circumstances he would have broken with War and maintained relationship with Payap until the matter was settled.

882 608 381 628 Both the age-grade and adulthood ceremonies bring a boy into "safe"[36] relationships with persons outside the hamlet who are not actually related to him. The person who initiates him into the age-grade cycle becomes his *ceremonial father*, and he becomes his sponsor's *ceremonial son*.[37] Henceforth they behave toward one another just as though they were relatives. Aggression is restricted between them. They may visit one another without fear of sorcery, and they are expected to support one another in disputes. As in the case of relatives, they may break relations with one another, but as long as the relationship remains "safe," it has the distinct advantage of expanding the number and geographic distribution of persons who need not be feared. As with the

000

[34] This breaking of relationship between Gwiyap and Payap was not an aggressive act, but simply meant that both he and War could not have a relationship with the same *mother's brother*. Gwiyap showed some resentment against Payap for allowing him to make the mistake and thus forcing him to pay damages to War. Actually Gwiyap lost nothing by the transaction because the obligation to pay Payap at the age-grade ceremony was now nullified.

[35] Gwiyap was an adolescent, whereas War was a middle-aged man of high standing in the community.

[36] A safe relationship is the converse of a broken relationship. The Kwoma term for this is *ma kieñ jiju*, literally "man good goes."

[37] *Ceremonial father* and *son* are of different sibs; hence they necessarily live in different hamlets.

[514] [921]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[38] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[38] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[39] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their cooperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[39] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man." 882 609 836

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister's* lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover *in flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud. 602 578 [583] [626] [627]

Even in courtship, the father and *brothers* of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness. 882 584 602 578

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

882 584 602 578 Gwimpi, exemplifies Kwoma custom in this respect. One day he told me that Nowel, Gwimpi's brother, had insulted him, and added: "If that Nowel comes around here again, I am going to beat him up. You won't be angry with me if I give him a good licking, will you?" The threatened fight never occurred. Although Gwiyap spoke sneeringly of Nowel several times thereafter when the latter was not present, he was especially friendly to him whenever they were together. A month or so later he began addressing Nowel by the brother-in-law term. The latter would protest at this and deny the relationship. On one occasion Nowel's *paternal uncle* was present, overheard Gwiyap addressing Nowel in this way, and asked him the reason for it. Gwiyap replied: "I am going to marry your niece. Have you anything to say about it? If you don't like it, I will fight you." (Gwiyap was much smaller than the man whom he was challenging.) The uncle laughed indulgently at the threat and jokingly replied, "You are talking pretty big for a child." That evening Gwiyap asked my help in case a fight should result, but nothing came of the matter.

Fear of retaliation prevents a boy from being seriously aggressive toward his future relatives-in-law. They stand as a unit against him, whereas his own relatives will not support him in any unwarranted aggression. If the relatives of the girl do not exceed their rights, a boy is not considered justified in going farther than in the case reported above. Possibly another reason why a boy is inhibited from direct expression of his hostility toward his future in-laws is that the punishment he has received in the past for being aggressive toward his own father and *brothers* has generated anxiety which is generalized to this new situation.[40]

882 836 602 578 An adolescent boy may be frustrated by the girls whom he flirts with or courts. His sexual wishes or his desire for marriage may be blocked because the girl is not interested in him. He must submit to this frustration, for to express his aggression would evoke retaliation from the girl's relatives.

[787] [40] Mar, directly after Waramus insulted him, had a nightmare in which his father tried to take his soul.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619 [648]

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14] [692]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved. 423 621 692 578 [602] [613]

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a 423 611 428

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

685 next day Yat sent a message to Sumwe Sumwe, announcing
628 that he had discovered that his pig blind had been destroyed
• 578 and that if they trespassed on his land again there would be trouble. The Sumwe Sumwe returned an equally aggressive message to the effect that Yat had built his blind on their property and that he had better not try to rebuild it. Angry and insulting messages flew back and forth most of the day. A few days later Yat again visited his pig blind, and on the way he met Dowar. Both of them were carrying their pig spears. After an angry exchange of insults, according to Yat, he challenged Dowar to a spear duel, but the latter threw down his spear and ran. Yat picked up the discarded spear and broke it against a tree. Then he returned home and boasted of his prowess at the house tamberan that evening. The topic for gossip was again that the Sumwe Sumwe were a bad lot and, in addition, were cowards. Many tales were recounted of their sexual depravity. Yat felt that Dowar had learned his lesson and would not interfere again. He said that if the offense were repeated, he would take the case to the patrol officer.[19]

685 Another case involved theft within the house-tamberan
621 group. Kafa, Yat's wife, began shouting angrily one after-
578 noon at Mar's betrothed, Yawa, accusing her of stealing sago grubs from a tree on her husband's plot. Yawa, being a rather cowardly and unaggressive girl, made a feeble denial, but Mar's mother and *aunt* immediately took over her defense and shouted invective in reply. Yat's other wife then joined in the argument, and for almost an hour the four women kept up a stream of insult, accusation, and threat. Now and again other women of the neighborhood would make a point on one side or the other, but none of the men joined in the argument. I asked Mar what he was going to do about it. He replied that it was a woman's argument and no affair of his. He was not very fond of his betrothed, and felt that she was a lazy good-for-nothing who had been foisted on him. He commented proudly on his mother's sharp

[19] If the dispute had continued it probably would have actually been settled at a meeting of the subtribal court.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

685 621 578 885 583 585 593 833 513 [192] [196]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

835 539 "Once upon a time, long, long ago, a man came home one night after dark and lay with a woman, thinking that she was his wife. Later he discovered that she was his grown daughter. He was very ashamed. He decorated himself in all his finery, painted his face black, and went to the house tamberan to sleep. Early in the morning he arose, cut a bamboo, and sharpened an edge on it. He went down to the lake, embarked in a canoe, and paddled out into deep water. Here he cut off his penis with the bamboo, jumped into the water, and drowned himself. Since then it has been taboo for a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter."[21]

837 835 602 The frequency of philandering with *sisters* decreases when they marry and leave the hamlet, because the factor of proximity no longer operates. They are replaced by the wives of a man's *brothers* who live conveniently near to him. They are classed as relatives, designated by the term *brother*, and are [262] sexually taboo. The belief that a man will become ill if he eats food cooked by anyone except his wife serves to prevent philandering with a *brother's* wife. If a man deviates from this custom and has sexual relations with her, it may lead to an embarrassing situation. He frequently eats at his *brother's* house, particularly when he is helping in some coöperative economic task, and he must either risk becoming sick by eating the food offered him or publicize his illicit behavior [578] by refusing to do so. If a man suspects his *brother* of such adultery, he may threaten to beat or sorcerize him. The accused usually denies the fact, and establishes an alibi if he can. Such accusations and denials are not infrequent in Kwoma life. If the husband's suspicions are not allayed by his *brother's* denials, they may actually come to blows, and, if the offense be too flagrant and the husband powerful enough, the culprit may be forced to flee the community or be killed.[22]

[262] [192] [196] [21] It is interesting to note that the man kills himself; no one else holds him responsible for the crime. The native explanation for this is that he committed suicide because he was "ashamed." The term for this feeling is *komba*, the same word used for the feeling about brother-sister incest and about sleeping with one's wife.

[22] Takawur had fled from the tribe and was living with one of the river tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

he is too big to be spanked or beaten. The habit of obeying their commands has been so firmly implanted that, for the most part, he continues to do so even though the parent may not have the strength to punish disobedience physically. More often than when he was an adolescent, however, he ignores the commands of his aged parents. He is seldom physically aggressive toward them, though he not infrequently attacks them verbally. Kwoma informants could remember no case of an adult son wounding or killing a parent. Since there is no relative closer than the son to retaliate for the crime, there is no direct control of patricide. Its rare occurrence is explained in part by the punishments received during childhood for aggression toward the parents, and in part by the active negative sanction that would be applied by the whole community. Members of the hamlet would consider the deed unnatural and would avoid the murderer.

A grown man is more frequently aggressive toward his *brothers* than he was during adolescence. As already noted, his *brothers'* wives take the place of his *sisters* as persons in the hamlet with whom, although they are sexually taboo, he frequently has clandestine affairs. If such behavior is suspected or discovered, it usually leads to blows or at least to an exchange of threats and insults between the *brothers* concerned. In order to avoid suspicion, a man takes great care not to look at his *brother's* wife or to be in any other way intimate with her when he is likely to be observed. This is the nearest approach to an avoidance relationship—in public, at least—that is found in Kwoma culture.

The following cases illustrate conflicts between adult *brothers* which spring from sexual jealousy. Yat accused Kar of having an affair with his wife and threatened him. Kar denied the accusation and said that it was a bad state of affairs when one was falsely accused by his *brother*. He intimated that he might break relations with Yat. They remained hostile for about a week and then apparently forgot the matter, for their relations became friendly again. A more serious case occurred between Wof and War. The latter planned to leave the hamlet for several days and asked Wof

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

885 if he would take care of his wife, Mbora, during his absence.
602 Wof agreed, and Mbora came to stay with him. When War
835 returned, someone gossiped to him that Wof had taken ad-
578 vantage of the situation and had had sexual relations with
837 Mbora. War accused Wof of adulterous behavior and threatened to spear him. Wof ran away, but his wife stood her ground and counterattacked War with an adz, wounding him in the arm. In still another instance War's wife complained that while gathering firewood she had been sexually attacked by his *brother*, Takawur. War set out with a spear after Takawur, and would have killed him had he not fled from the tribe. He still lives in exile.

421 Fighting between *brothers* sometimes results from eco-
578 nomic conflicts. The responsibility for maintaining his prop-
602 erty against theft and trespass, which a man assumes as an
593 adult, sometimes generates enough antagonism between
[885] *brothers* to overcome communal disapproval and their early training against fighting one another. The following case illustrates such a conflict. Kwal and Daw, two brothers in their early thirties, lived in adjoining houses. One day, while Kwal was away working, Daw climbed an areca palm which they owned in common and began to gather the nuts. Kwal's wife told Daw to stop, as the nuts were not yet ripe, and, when he paid no attention, began to insult him. Daw, stung by her insults, climbed down the tree and beat her with the handle of a spear. When Kwal returned home and was told by his wife how Daw had treated her, he set upon his brother with a stave, and the two battled until Daw received a severe blow on his head.

578 The reaction of the community indicates the sanction on
593 fraternal aggression. Daw and Kwal shouted angrily at one
626 another during the fight, and when the former received the blow on his head he cried out as though he were mortally wounded. As soon as the sounds of the fracas were heard, nearly everyone in the hamlet rushed to the scene. When I arrived, the battle was over and several persons were standing by each contestant. Mes was supporting Daw, who stood trembling with blood flowing down his cheek from a cut in his

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

scalp. Most of the spectators formed a neutral group between Kwal and Daw. When they had discovered what had happened, they began to discuss the merits of the case and were divided in their opinion as to which brother was right. Since Kwal and Daw were real brothers, the only persons who could take sides, being more nearly related to one principal than to the other, were their wives and children. The children were not grown up, and their reaction was one of fear, but the respective wives stood, eyes blazing, with digging sticks in hand ready to join in the fray. When I asked the spectators their opinion of the affair, they said that after all it was Kwal's and Daw's business to fight if they wanted to, but that they were stupid to injure one another since brothers should stand together against trouble from an outsider rather than quarrel among themselves. This opinion represents the communal sanction which is imposed on fighting between brothers. As can be seen, the direct social control of fraternal aggression is minimal. From this it might be expected that fights between brothers would occur frequently. This case, however, was the only one in which brothers actually came to blows during a period of seven months. This indicates that the disadvantages of in-group aggression and the advantages of fraternal cooperation have been well learned during the socialization process.

When a fight occurs between *brothers* who are not closely related by blood, their relatives rally in support of them. If the dispute is not serious, it usually ceases after an exchange of invective. If the affair cannot be settled in this way, members of the hamlet who are not emotionally involved try to discover the blame and suggest a settlement. The discussion usually takes place by shouting from house to house, but sometimes the men will gather at the house tamberan and hold court. If even these measures fail to settle the dispute, a permanent rift may result, and the minority group may withdraw from the hamlet.

The division of a hamlet as a result of a dispute between its members is not uncommon in Kwoma society. Such a split had occurred in the not-too-distant past in each of the three

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

621 sibs of the subtribe in which I lived. Rumbima, for example,
• 578 had at one time been the only hamlet of Hayamakwo. A
[514] number of years before my arrival a small group had seceded
[346] as a result of a quarrel which started when someone defecated in the house tamberan. Accusations and counteraccusations led to the formation of two groups who would not compromise. The smaller group left and moved to another local-
[648] ity to make a hamlet and house tamberan of their own. Some years later, the Australian Government, in a punitive expedition against the tribe, killed seventeen members of the two hamlets and burnt both house tamberans. During the process of rehabilitation, the two groups decided to recombine to build a single new house tamberan. In deciding the site for the new building, however, a new dissension arose, and a new fission resulted. The larger group built the house tamberan and the surrounding dwellings of the present Rumbima hamlet. There were not enough men in the other group to build a house tamberan, so they lived in a hamlet without one, and were therefore called *sumee sumee*, "without." Such fissions as these lead to deprivations which the Kwoma well appreciate. They weaken the defensive power of the in-group, and make large cooperative endeavors such as building a house tamberan more difficult. They even interfere with the cooperative work of building dwellings and clearing garden sites, easy tasks for a large number of men, but arduous for a few. The importance of these factors in controlling in-group aggression should not be underestimated. Parents continually stress their value.

593 A Kwoma man sometimes reacts to annoyances from his
578 wife by scolding or beating her; sometimes he submits to them. Although he has more practice in physical combat than she, knows how to use a spear, and is living among his own kin, who are pledged to support him, she too has some very
[754] effective weapons. She has access to his food leavings and other sorcery material, which she may take to a sorcerer if she becomes sufficiently angry. Of course, she does this in the face of the negative sanction against sorcery. The husband may even kill her if he discovers the crime. Nevertheless, she

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

has plenty of opportunity to take material without being discovered, and the fear that she will do so is a strong deterrent to his aggression. In addition to this weapon, she has the support of her own relatives if he maltreats her, particularly before he has paid the bride-price. Finally, she is free to leave him, an act which lowers him in the eyes of the community and is an economic and sexual loss.

Disputes between husband and wife arise for a variety of reasons. A wife may fail to do her share in the economic duties of the household, she may be openly unfaithful, or she may be annoying in a variety of minor ways. The following cases illustrate conflicts between husband and wife. One evening, when the mosquitoes were more plentiful than usual, Kaya began to complain about them. Wof, her husband, became annoyed at her carping and told her to stop. This started an argument which ended by his pounding her on the back with his fist. Kaya began to wail, and Wof left the house.

War on one occasion became angered at one of his wives and thrust a spear through her leg. Mey, who reported the case to me, said that he took care to thrust it into her leg rather than into a vital spot, because by killing her he would lose both a wife and the money he had paid for her. He also reported that before this event she had been very disobedient to War, but that afterwards she was a dutiful wife. Cases of men beating their wives as a result of the suspicion or knowledge that they were unfaithful are numerous. A man does not always react to frustrations imposed by his wife with aggression; he often submits to them. A homely example of such a reaction occurred one night when I was sitting by a fire in front of my house with a group of men. While we were talking, a gong sounded from down the mountainside. One of the men sighed, picked up his net bag, and trudged off. The gong had been a message from his wife telling him to return home immediately.

Since the way in which a child behaves toward his parents as he grows from infancy to adulthood has been described in detail, much of how parents behave toward their children has

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

monial father **and a** ***ceremonial son.*** **The first of these relationships is established during adolescence, when he enters the age-grade cycle, while the second is instituted approximately twenty-five years later, when he starts playing the rôle of initiator in these ceremonies. Although the primary function of these relationships is carried out in the ceremonies themselves, the** ***ceremonial father*** **and the** ***ceremonial son*** **also stand as pseudo-kin in everyday life. A man is normally less intimate with them than with a** ***friend,*** **and he usually will not support them so strongly. Nevertheless, he is "safe" to visit and entertain them. Thus both the** ***friend-friend*** **and the** ***ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son*** **relationships bind the members of the subtribe together with ties like those of kinship, and are a consolidating force that is highly functional in a tribe with no king, chief, or council of elders, and no central political organization except a loosely organized court.**

Affinal relationships are not so friendly as consanguineal ones. Until a man has paid the bride-price, he is frequently antagonized by his wife's relatives. They are continually dunning him to pay and criticizing him for his treatment of his wife. Furthermore, a man may be frustrated by his sister's husband, for, as long as the latter does not pay the bride-price, he has no money to obtain a wife of his own. Also he must be continually ready to protect his sister against maltreatment. As a result, brothers-in-law are frequently aggressive toward one another. For the most part such aggression is expressed verbally in the form of insult and threat. Fear of retaliation and the disadvantages of open conflict within the subtribe are the limiting factors. The following is a typical case of such antagonism. Sof beat his wife for being indiscreetly adulterous, and she ran to the house of one of her older brothers, but he was not at home. Sof followed her and dragged her back. When her brother returned and learned what had happened, he shouted up the mountainside to Sof:

"You had better stop beating my sister."

"I will beat her all I want, if she continues to behave so badly."

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

602 "You talk as if you had already paid the bride-price for
578 her."

583 "Well, if you don't like my beating her, what are you
607 going to do about it?"

"I am not afraid of your threats. You are just a child anyway."

"Just because you have been away working for the whites, you think you are pretty tough. Come to the house tamberan and you'll see whether I'm a child or not."

The shouting continued for about two hours and then subsided. Nothing further came of the affair.

When the bride-price has been paid, an affinal relationship becomes friendly. The woman's relatives no longer have to look after her, and they have the money to use to their own advantage. The husband need no longer fear their interfer-
[574] ence in his behavior toward his wife. He may visit and eat
[754] with them without fear of sorcery, and he coöperates with
[476] them economically.
602

Thus toward all relatives, except affines before the bride-price is paid, a man maintains relationships which are for the most part friendly. He is safe from sorcery danger from them as long as the kinship bond remains unbroken, and is supported by them in disputes and helped by them in many economic tasks. He, in return, is obligated to support and help them in the same ways. Aggression is theoretically prohibited, but it nevertheless not infrequently occurs. If it is at all serious, the kin tie is broken, and the two act toward one another as non-relatives.

602 The greatest contrast between the experiences of an adult
591 man and an adult woman results from the custom of patrilocal marriage. A man's relationship with his affines is attenuated by the fact that he does not live in close contact with them, but this is not the case with the woman. Her adjustment to her affines-to-be has already been described. After marriage her position in her husband's hamlet is somewhat firmer, although it is not until his parents die and his sisters marry out of the hamlet that her position becomes relatively

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

dominant. By this time the other adult women of the hamlet also belong to it by marriage, and her status is thus at least as high as theirs. There is considerable rivalry and dissension between the wives of *brothers*, arising both from sexual jealousy and from economic disputes. Aggression between a woman and her husband's *brother's* wife is usually on the verbal level, but in this sphere she is considerably more expressive than her husband. In any dispute between two households, the voices of the women usually rise above those of the men. On the other hand, a woman depends on the wives of her husband's *brothers* for much of her intimate social participation. In the afternoons and particularly in the evenings, these women visit one another and gossip of the day's events.

An important social relationship which a woman experiences but a man does not is that between a woman and her co-wife. Although the culture rules that they should not fight one another, but live together amicably and cooperate in the household duties, there is considerable antagonism between them. A woman seldom expresses her anger directly toward her co-wife, for to do so would bring punishment from her husband. If his wives fight he stands ready to beat the one who was responsible or both of them if he cannot decide who is to blame. Sexual jealousy and the difficulty of fairly allocating the economic tasks of the household create a strong pressure in opposition to this sanction. The following case demonstrates one of the techniques which a Kwoma woman uses to express her aggression toward a co-wife. Wof, a middle-aged man, had one wife, Kaya. Shortly after I arrived he inherited his deceased brother's wife, Chinuwa, by the rules of levirate marriage. Kaya was not pleased with the prospect of having another woman share her husband and protested vigorously to Wof. On the eve of the wedding she argued vociferously with her husband and, when she could not dissuade him, wailed bitterly. After Chinuwa came to live in the household, the two wives seldom spoke to one another, and when they did, they were coldly polite. Instead of being openly aggressive toward Chinuwa, Kaya disparaged

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

595 her behind her back and finally, a month or so after the mar-
578 riage, accused her of stealing sorcery material. Wof's store of sago flour had been tampered with. Kaya told her husband that she had seen Chinuwa in the vicinity of the food store that morning. When Chinuwa returned to the house, Wof confronted her with Kaya's charge, but Chinuwa hotly denied it and threatened to leave Wof if he believed any more malicious gossip about her. Although Chinuwa may have taken a bit of sago flour to hold as sorcery material over Wof's head, it is much more probable that Kaya engineered the scheme to make Wof angry and suspicious of his new wife. Despite such conflicts, Kwoma co-wives are usually quite amicable. Each has her separate fire and does her own cooking. Each is allotted a special part of the garden to care for. If a dispute arises concerning their coöperative activity, the husband acts as arbiter.

602 A woman's relationship to other relatives need only be
[595] briefly sketched. She acts in a motherly way toward the chil-
dren of her co-wife, and toward the children of her husband's
[601] *brothers*. She calls her father's *sister's* children *son* or *daughter* and mothers them even though they may be older than she. She is kindly toward the children of her *brother*, calling
[582] them niece and nephew. She rarely sees her *sisters*, since they
[591] are not permitted to marry into the same hamlet.

Thus a Kwoma man lives in a hamlet surrounded by relatives with whom he is comparatively safe, who coöperate with him and support him, and who share with him common interests and goals. He is bound to the other hamlets of his sib by
[628] patrilineal ties and to the hamlets of other sibs of the sub-
[619] tribe through ties with his *sisters*, his *maternal uncles*, his *paternal aunts*, his wife's relatives, his *friends*, and his ceremonial *father* and *son*. Each of these bonds implies reciprocal obligations, some of which are economic but all of which are protective and friendly. A woman lives with her children
[628] among her affines. She maintains throughout her life a close tie with the hamlet of her birth through the strong bond that she has with her parents and her *brothers*, and she also has havens of safety and friendship in other hamlets with her

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

maternal uncle, her *paternal aunt*, her *sisters*, and her *friends*.

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the coöperative endeavors of non-relatives[a] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes.

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected.

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't

[a] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

609 578 [56] [123] you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house? No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined [685] by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done, he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are [692] made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable [683] settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing [684] sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seducing [626] a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse him and turn public opinion against him in order to make him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned for retaliating in kind.

609 578 626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggressive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe, three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the relatives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are always persons among the relatives of the victim who are related to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

do not wish the controversy to continue to such a point that they will be forced to break these relationships. These persons, if the aggression has adhered to custom, will point out that the victim received what he deserved and will suggest that the matter be closed. If the aggressor demands compensation, it is these persons who bring pressure to bear upon the victim to pay it. If, however, the aggressor's behavior has been disproportionate, if his reaction to some minor threat imposed by a non-relative has exceeded the bounds of custom, then the situation is reversed. Public opinion swings in favor of the victim. If the aggressor has been exceedingly disproportionate in his aggression, his own relatives may even withdraw their support from him, and he is then forced to leave the tribe to escape retaliation from the victim and his relatives.

The Kwoma court system provides a formalized mode of settling disputes between non-relatives.[47] The court may meet to settle any disagreement, whether it be over property, sex, or sorcery. Only adult males attend the meetings, which are held at a house tamberan, usually a neutral one. The men convene in the morning carrying spears and wearing bone daggers. When everyone has arrived, the most important man of the hamlet in which the meeting is being held stands and states the purpose of the meeting and his view of the case. When he has finished speaking, someone else will stand and state his opinion. Then another presents his views. Thus the meeting progresses. A man's speech usually starts with an exoneration of himself and his relatives and ends with an accusation of someone else. While making a speech a man stamps his feet on the ground, brandishes a spear or dagger, and speaks loudly, often raising his voice to a shout. Sometimes, when someone has made a particularly pointed accusation, the accused will rise and stand facing his accuser. Each may draw his dagger, stand close to his opponent, reach over the other's shoulder and make jabbing movements at his back, shouting insults and threats. It is particularly im-

[47] Disputes which only concern relatives are settled at similar but less formal meetings at the local house tamberan.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

Furthermore, a man who has not taken a head is held in contempt by his wife. Yat explained to me why he went on a raid. "I was angry with my wife one day and began to beat her. She taunted me. She said, 'You are very brave when it comes to beating women, but fighting a man is quite different. If you had taken a head, I would not complain when you beat me. It makes me ashamed to be married to a man who dares beat only his wife.' My belly became hot with anger at this taunt, so I went down to the house tamberan and called together my friends. We planned a raid and carried it out. I came back with a head between my teeth and showed it to my wife. Since then she has not complained when I beat her. Many of us Kwoma go on raids because we are taunted in this way by our wives."

In addition to the motives of vengeance and prestige, a head-hunting raid is a means of expressing aggression in displaced form. Much of the aggression generated in the in-group is inhibited from direct expression by the sanctions against aggression toward members of one's hamlet, relatives, and certain non-relatives. There are no sanctions, however, against killing a foreigner on a head-hunting raid, so that in this way a man can express much of the aggression which he has had to inhibit.

The following case concerns the genesis of a head-hunting raid which took place during my stay in Kwoma. It illustrates, in particular, how a raid may be a means of expressing aggression in a displaced form. War, a man of considerable prestige in the community, owned and operated a garden in common with his two younger brothers, Kar and Kis. One day War and Kar were working on this garden with their wives. War returned to the hamlet in the afternoon, leaving Kar and the two wives to spend the night in the bush house. He gave his own wife orders to weed a certain portion of the garden before he returned the next afternoon. When he returned he found the work not yet done. He asked his wife for an explanation, and she said that she had been possessed by a ghost the night before and that this had upset her so that she had been unable to work. Kar's wife said that this was

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

721 593 • 578 not the explanation at all. The real reason why the work was undone, she said, was that the woman had spent the morning in the bushes with Kar. War became furious at this, knocked his wife down with his fist, and threatened to spear his brother Kar. Kar denied the accusation indignantly, saying that his wife had merely invented the story to get him in trouble, whereupon he, in turn, clouted his own wife. War was still suspicious, but did not proceed further against Kar. War's [586] wife, however, returned in a fury to the hamlet, packed her things, took her young daughter by the hand,[81] and left before War returned. Kar, who had arrived before she left, tried to dissuade her, but did not succeed. When War returned that evening and found his wife gone, he was even [302] more angry than before. He painted his face with clay and swore that he would not take it off until he had brought her back or killed the man to whom she had fled. The next day he traced her to Yelagu, a neighboring tribe consisting of only six families. He took three spears and set out alone to bring back his runaway wife. Someone warned the Yelagu that he was coming, so that when he arrived there was only a cripple left in the village. War demanded where his wife had gone, but the cripple either could not or would not tell him and offered him a dog and some shell money if War would spare his life. War demanded more money, took it and the dog, and returned home.

721 The next evening War called his friends and relatives together. He distributed the dog meat among them, told them what had happened, and suggested that they go on a head-hunting raid against the Yelagu. He argued that it was a very small tribe and that they were all cowards. He said that it would be a good opportunity for some of the young men who had not yet taken a head to do so. He admitted that he was interested in getting his wife back and teaching her a lesson, and in punishing the man who had harbored her. [648] Most of those present thought that it was a good idea, but several objected on the grounds that Yelagu was too near

[81] Theoretically she should have left her daughter with her husband, since children belong to their father's hamlet.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

Ambunti, the government post. Some of the men present had seen six river natives hanged by the white government for head-hunting and did not relish the idea of being caught themselves. They said that it would be much safer to attack Sowal, a tribe far in the swamp which the whites had not yet visited. Wof, a *brother* of War, voiced another objection to the raid. He pointed out that his gardens adjoined Yelagu territory, and since they would be sure to retaliate, it would not be safe for him to work in his garden if the raid were carried out. The group disbanded, excited but undecided. 721 648

For two weeks there was a great deal of discussion among the men of the tribe. War and Wof argued with particular vehemence, War presenting over and again the reasons why it was a good idea to raid the Yelagu, and Wof countering with his objections. The two even broke relationship for a time because of the dispute. Neither visited the other's house, and they passed one another guardedly without speaking. The other men of the tribe, meanwhile, had been swayed by the argument that there was considerable danger of punishment from the whites if Yelagu were attacked, whereas Sowal involved much less danger. It was also reported that high water had driven the Sowal out of their central village, and that they were living on knolls in small isolated groups that would be particularly vulnerable. The pressure of these arguments finally forced War to give up his idea of attacking Yelagu, and he threw his weight into planning for the Sowal raid. He and Wof reëstablished their relationship. [578].

War and some of the older men of the hamlet began to incite the young men to go on the raid. He told them that this was their chance to become big men. In particular he played upon the emotions of Mes, because he, as my shoot boy, could use a gun. The effect of these incendiary talks put Mar in a strong conflict. One evening he came to talk to me about it. He told me that he had decided not to go on the raid. He was afraid that the raiders would get in trouble with the whites, and he was not going to have anything to do with it. Then he began talking about what he would lose by not going and started to weep. He sobbed: "Never mind. I'll

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

173 At the beginning of the fight they speared Woyo, who was the leader
727 of the Ngaya, and his wife Mbuta. They killed his wife but Woyo was just wounded in the leg. They bound him to the central post of the house tamberan and tortured him there for several days by spitting betel pepper in his face and prodding him with spears, while they gathered food for a ceremony. Then they danced around him poking his face with lighted torches.
[266] At dawn they killed him, cut him up like a pig and made soup of him. Those who ate this soup became very strong and bold and thus were enabled to kill the rest of the Ngaya.

173 The Nowel people came next and settled with the Hongwam. The Yasi came later and settled on a small mountain by the lake. Later they were driven out by the Yambon and Hongwam and went to their present site at Yessam. Today the lake separates their land.

173 Originally there were two hamlets of Hayamakwo sib--Ambunti and
621 Hambundu. A third hamlet was formed when a dispute arose over someone's
614 defecating in the Hambundu house tamberan. The group which split off called
361 themselves Sumwe Sumwe (without) because they were too small to build a
[578] house tamberan of their own. In 1928, Ambunti and Hambundu were burned down. The members of these two hamlets combined to build Rumbim, at present the largest group of the Hayamakwo. Members of Sumwe Sumwe, plus a few others who did not agree with the present site of Rumbima, formed another hamlet and have built a small house tamberan called Cumbeya Nampara. Ngwisempe and Weyanokw were segments of Hayamakwo which split off. Ngwisempe is now situated at Wenyabumkura and Weyanokw has been reabsorbed into Rumbima.

The Tug people lived up the Sepik far above Yessam. They came down and settled at Urambanj for a while but left there for lack of food and came to

648 Overall cons he would get boys in spite of their population policy. Later
464 Yat and Kar said that they, the "finish timers" who have already worked on a white plantation, do not want to go back to work, but some of the young people can go. Mar said he wouldn't go because he might get sick and die. Maybe it is because he is a "Rumbiman true" (loyal to Rumbina).

123 January 15, 1937. We arrived the day before yesterday from Ambunti. We saw Kar, Yat, Wof, and the children about. They all seemed glad to see us and repeated that they thought of us when we were gone, and were "sori long tu felo".

[755] [754] Mar did not come to see us because he was ill. That night the gongs were beaten to fight off sorcery. I went to see him the next day, and he was very weak, but all right. Mar and Kar both told me that he been sorcerised along with Suw, Mar, and the others by people, probably of Wanyabanrara because they were friends of ours and the others were jealous of them. Mar asked us how long we were going to stay. I told him that I didn't know, and he said he was asking nothing and wanted us to stay a long time. This was seconded by his wife who seemed glad to see me also.

578 593 January 16, 1937. I was talking with a group who had just launched a canoe that they had made, when loud voices were heard down below. Everyone dropped what he was doing, and after listening for a moment announced "fait i kam up naw" (There is going to be a fight) with serious faces. They ran to the scene of action--down the hill about 3 minutes beyond Marck's house. Mar and I set out behind them, and when we got to the scene of action, Ewai, a man of about 35 who did not talk pidgin, was leaning against Mas talking very excitedly. His face was very white and he was trembling (with excitement? suppressed anger? fear?). He was one of the principals: his older brother Daw was the other. He was standing in front

578 of the house holding a large club, talking in a loud voice as was almost
593 everyone else of a group of about a dozen or so which had gathered. Daw's wife was near the center of the group with a digging stick in her hand. She is a strapping, good-looking young woman, and her eyes were shining with anger. Wof, Way, and Waramua, aside from the principals and the women, were doing most of the talking. Rwal went and sat inside the porch after a while; Daw, still trembling, dropped his weapon after a bit and told his wife to go back to her house. The houses are only about 20 feet apart and facing each other. It was rather difficult to find out what the trouble was, but as near as I could make out, Daw had been away all day and had come back to find his betel nut stolen from the tree near his house. This was the culmination of several thefts, and he suspected his brother, and accused him. His wife was evidently the leader in the accusation, for Rwal grabbed a spear and began belaboring her with the handle of it. At this Daw grabbed up a 1 x 3" slab of "limbon" about 4 feet long and cracked Rwal over the scull, breaking the skin and raising a nasty lump. What happened next I don't know, except as I was coming down the hill, I heard someone howling. The difference seemed to be settled, for everyone began to talk of other things. The two sulked while I stayed there about a half hour but joined a little in the conversation. After I had gone, I heard some more rather loud voices, but nothing happened. Nes, who came
[123] up afterward, said it had been settled. Rwal visited in the evening, and I put iodine on his cut. Gwiyap did not go down. Nes arrived before Nar and I. The people of Tug were also there. The doctor and Wenyemanj and a couple of others sat aside by themselves. Whether the accusation was just or not, I could not tell. I asked if it were usual for brothers to fight, and he replied that it was the custom of the tribe. The words

578 593 loge kumoyi were frequently spoken by the onlookers, and I gathered that this meant that brothers should be friends, or something of the sort.

January 18, 1937. Revision: He said that Daw was not angry because of theft, but because his brother had picked the betel pepers before they were ripe.

123 179 439 January 17, 1937. The day before yesterday, Mar's sister Awa wanted to buy a harmonica. I told her I would give her one for 10 yams. She brought five and Fit eight, as he also wanted one. I persisted with 10 as the number required, so Awa gave 2 of her yams to Fit to fill his quota. She didn't want anything else with her 3 yams, but was disappointed at not getting her "musik". I felt sorry for her, so I told her that if she would make me a little net bag, I would give her one. The next day she brought one up, a nice little new one, and I gave her the "musik". She went running home with it. Pretty soon there were loud voices, and she came back with her "musik" looking rather upset and wanted to call off the bargain. I asked what the matter was; she said that Wof's wife had [775] become very cross about it and had told her that the harmonica would bring ambas (ghosts) if she blew it and that she could not have it. Mar's mother sided with her daughter, but to no avail, and she was forced to bring the "musik" back.

Tip's narambei came in and was very glad to see me and asked for his friend. He was very sorry that he was not there. He was present when Awa [415] brought back the harmonica and said that he would buy it. He had a very special net bag with two compartments which he would give me for the harmonica. He said he was a good man, and if I would give him the harmonica now, he would send the net bag in by one of his children the next day. He kept his word, and one of the children came with the net bag and the harmonica in it. I took the net bag and gave the harmonica back to the child and all was well.

114 We finally arrived home, pretty well exhausted. Mundik had brought his load to the house, dropped the axes and gone off, saying he was going to get something to eat. I told my story to Bob and Tip. The former laughed at my fears. He said that he had been there three years before and stayed for several days without any trouble. Both Tip and Bob felt the Eve tale a fake.

648 464 While I was gone, Bob had gotten another recruit--May. He is about thirty, somewhat of a dandy; he usually walks about with a long white feather in his comb and is very careful of his personal appearance. He speaks in a low musical voice, slowly, giving the impression of thoughtfulness. He was the one at the Hokwi ceremony who grabbed the spear and went dancing with it around the water drum. Tip said that he had come in the morning and had sat by the cook house for a couple of hours and then finally had said that he wanted to sign up. A short while later, four youths from Wayambank came, accompanied by the Tultul and Sow. They also signed on. The recruiter decided that it was best to go at once, before [593] they ran away. May and the boys looked rather frightened. When the time came for them to go, all their mothers, sisters, and wives came up and began wailing as at a funeral. Their older relatives broke their lime gourds and rubbed the lime on the shoulders of the recruits. Others came up and rubbed the lime on them too. There was much embracing and excited talking. Tears were streaming down the faces of the women. It was a scene of hysteria.

To add to the confusion, Mundik had not appeared, and there was much excited yelling for him, but to no avail, and finally Bob and Tip went off with them.

578 754 Mar came up in the afternoon in quite an agitated state saying that [illegible] had thought he had "pushed" his wife and was going to "make poison"

578 754 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of "making poison" against War and Sewingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for "poison." Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 464 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Kumb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urambanj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Weynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp . The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 114 January 28, 1937. Today Owiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 202 [534] January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked Owiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come and have a talk. Sortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a "lapun meri" was dying and they were calling her relatives

533 February 2, 1937. Yesterday the gongs started beating at Sombundura, and they kept up all night. Flutes played intermittently. The people at Rumbima said that it wasn't much of a ceremony--there was little excitement [171] compared to the Hokwi ceremony. The beat was similar to the Ndunkwi of [30] Yambon. The gongs were still going this morning, and several people went [302] by somewhat ornamented but without paint on their faces.

578 This morning while I was still in bed, I heard a scramble and then Fit ran down the path to his house yelling. He was chased by Hay who had a smoking firebrand in his hand and was belaboring Fit with it. Later Hay came in with a cut on his forehead. He said that he had called Fit names, Fit had lost his temper, and sworn at him. He had rushed Hay while he was sitting down, and cracked him on the head with his fist. Hay had [522] scrambled up, grabbed a firebrand and threatened him. The spectators all thought it a good joke. Although Fit ran down to his house, there was no talk from the elders that I was aware of. Later Owiyap and I were talking about it, and he asked me if we fought the same way. I said no, that we more often played at fighting that way.

838 February 3, 1937. I woke up this morning and heard the voice of Ham in 522 Wisep's house. They were kidding him about sodomy. It was treated in a joking manner. He denied it and accused Marur and Wisep. He said that Marur had been having sexual intercourse with Wisep for a long time--this brought howls of laughter. The joking went on intermittently through [123] breakfast. I told Marur to bring Ham to me, that I wanted to have intercourse with him. There was laughter, and Marur chased Ham, who ran away. Later Marur caught him and asked me if he should bring him now. I said, "No, he isn't big enough", but added that he, Marur, was about right. They laughed heartily at this, and Ham danced around Marur pointing his finger at him.

838 finger at him. Later I asked May if sodomy was the fashion among the Kwoma. He replied that it was the custom of the Markam (tribe from which Wisap [829] came). Then I asked him if the Hongwam understood this, and he said, "I think?" and walked away. He did not seem to be embarrassed or shocked, but did not like to talk about it.

578 Gwiyap, Wisap and Marur went in to the station. May just came in with
602 his net bag, (bilum) which was empty except for a broken glass (the one which Bob had given him). He was quite upset. Fit, it seems, in revenge for yesterday's fight had emptied his bag, stolen a knife and a spoon from it, and broken the mirror, and then had left to stay with his mother who lived in Wenya (his mother was formerly married to Mar's father's younger brother). May had told Mar's mother about this, and she had railed about the incident. This is not a thing that brothers should do. She told May to wait until Fit came back and then get his net bag and do the same to it. This May plans to do.

I went to visit Wof. He and his wife were there sitting in the [123] porch section. Wof got up and greeted me very warmly and obsequiously.

123 Wof sat down and began scowling. His wife was preoccupied and did not
593 greet me as effusively as usual. Kum was standing at the side of the
595 house with his back to us, and Kaya (Wof's first wife) spoke to him sharply, scolded him for something, and I noticed that he was sobbing quietly. I asked what was the matter, and May said that his mother had gone away, and he was crying for her (May had joined in the scolding and so had Wof). Mas who was sitting there said, "Oh, don't do that."

Kum had been sitting on a log in front of the house, and now he started wandering around the porch. Wof barked at him, and he sat down quickly looking very sheepish and scared. (May told me later that he, Kum,

593 [353] 123 There were several stored in the thatch. Twice Hay took down the wrong ones and she was very cross with him. Hay did not answer but looked sullenly resentful. Kum was standing just outside the house looking down the path. After a while he came up near me, and I took him in my lap. He looked at me very intently saying nothing. His eyes were steady and unwavering. One finger was in the corner of his mouth. As I came up he stood near me for a moment and put his finger on my fly.

132 Someone yelled down the mountain. We all listened. The shouting was that rain was coming. I looked over the plain toward the sea and saw there was a big storm coming. For some reason this seemed to upset Wof and his wife.

578 A few moments later I saw Kaya looking down the path with a look of intense hatred. Her brows were contracted, her mouth pursed tightly, and her eyes looked unwaveringly. I wondered what it was and looked around and saw Chinuwa approaching. She came up slowly with a large net bag of money which she started to unload. No one greeted her. Her presence was absolutely ignored, and Wof was glowering at the ground. Wof cursed and slapped savagely at a fly which lit on his leg. I felt rather uncomfortable because the situation was so intense. After a few minutes I left. Hay came with me, and when I got to the house, I asked what the matter was. It seems that Wof had found some of his food broken into and some of it taken. He asked Kaya if she knew anything about it and she said she didn't. Then he asked Chinuwa if she knew, and she would not answer, so he suspected her of stealing it and carrying it to another man for the purpose of sorcery. Almost as soon as I left, Wof's voice came up loudly. Hay said he was trying to find out whom she had taken the food to,

578 and telling her that she was no good and that he thought he would drive her out of the house or spear her. I asked May if he liked Chinuwa, and he said no; he was afraid of being sorcerized too.

593 595 754 Then he told me of War who had been sorcerized by his second wife. He had speared her in the leg and cut her with a bamboo on the arm, and after that she was good. He was careful to spear her in the leg so as not to kill her. According to May, this often happened in the case of the no. 2 wife. The first wife usually loved her husband and did not sorcerize him. This also is what happened if one married a woman, and she did not marry her husband of her own free will.

000 Now, a couple of hours later, Wof has just come up to the house and seems in excellent spirits. He hugged Nemb, went up and greeted Nemb's wife, and came in where I was writing. He then went out and sat glumly in the cook house.

753 February 4, 1937. Wof came up today with a big sick. His head and stomach were pained, and he asked for medicine. He had no fever, but looked pale. Someone was sorcerizing him (this might have been predicted from yesterday). I tridd to pump May, but he was no help about yesterday's business.

123 [854] I went to see Marok but found he had gone into the bush. Then I stopped in at "Crilly's" house. His wife was sitting on the porch with an infant girl in her lap asleep. She gave me a coconut. The "lapun" in the next house was working something from a cassowary bone. His wife was [231] working on a fish net. They have three cats which they call puss.

Then I came back. A couple of women came by; they stopped and greeted me. I was doing card tricks for some children and told them to come in and watch. They giggled a bit and came in, stood in the doorway and

356 with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the
[357] back (Kar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got/ nothing. I said that if he had something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for
578 nothing. According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimawa is finished.
754 She did not give the sungayawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa) was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's
578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him
593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way to my house--three Hayemakwo men and Mas' mother who were coming back to
[532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the
[728] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

578 Kumb and Kar came up in the evening. Their argument may be over as there is no outward sign of hostility.

578 231 February 11, 1937. The day before yesterday Tip came back. I heard Wof talking. It seemed Marok and Chimuwa had gone to wash sago, and on the way back their dogs had fought; Wof's dog had been pretty well chewed up. Wof had been cross and wanted to know why Marok had not separated them. Awambaka had gone to Marok and told them that Wof was very cross. At this Marok's wife came and told Wof that they were not near the dogs, and Wof said that he wasn't cross but was making up stories. Then he chided Awambaka for talking. He told her that if she did this under other circumstances, it might cause a fight.

754 Last evening at dusk the gongs tolled, and at first they said that an old woman had been sick and that this announced her death. We heard excited shouting, and it turned out that a man had been seen sneaking behind someone's house, obviously looking for sunga (sorcery materials). They had grabbed spears and chased him, and he had run down into the 'sac sac' (sago swamp). They neither caught him nor recognized him. Had they caught him, they would have speared him.

476 534 [574] [481] [313] [284] [483] In preparation for making a slit gong, Yat obtained food and announced a ceremonial work feast. He called the workers in the morning. First they went down toward the market place to cut a liana about an inch in diameter and twenty feet long. One of the men, in monkey fashion, climbed up a tree and cut the top with a big knife. This was carried into the garden by the side of the road toward Wenyabunkura. A log was cut to the desired length and shaped. A collar had been left on the pointed end of the log and in back of this the liana was tied--a single turn and half knot around the stocky part--and slipped down tight. The end of the liana was

628 in the houses of their relatives here and went back the following day. Latai and another visited toward evening and were cross because the [437] [435] Yangwishampa asked exorbitant prices for betel pepper. (Nemb had tried to buy some and they had asked a big knife for a rope. Finally they settled for some beads and a razor blade.)

593 Yesterday noon Kum was crying out and Chinuwa answered him from down below in Wof's garden. She told him to stop his crying and then refused to answer. He kept up his crying for about half an hour. No one paid any attention to him except Owiyap and May who were playing ball by the house, and they made a few remarks "Pas in waus shit muting" but did nothing about it.

578 In the morning, Wayakola's oldest daughter and Kar's wife were cut by Wer and Marok respectively.

123 Kar slept at my house last night. He was sitting after supper talking to him; Mar called me, so I went down to his house; the fire had been put 787 out in the agayin (porch). Dim figures filled the place. It turned out that all the wives--Owiyap sisters and Kwiyakai were gathered inside. Chinuwa and Owiyap's older sister were holding Awambaka down because she was possessed by a ghost. May, Mar, Owiyap, Nas, and Asa had gathered outside and would rush up the path at the slightest sound. This would amuse the wives very much especially Chinuwa and Ugangaya who were laughing and giggling all the time. Every once in a while Awambaka would begin to kick her feet around and try to free the firewood stick which she was holding in both hands. This would be a signal for everyone to scatter except Chinuwa and Ugangaya and Mar, who would try to talk to Awa. She would either not answer at all or else with an annoyed monosyllable "muh -- leave me alone". Finally she began thrashing in earnest when Nemb appeared and

223 February 23,1937. Marok's pots were decorated. I went to Mar's this
531 afternoon and did card tricks for Kwiya and Awa. Their reaction was to
123 close the left hand and clap the other hand over a circle of thumb and fore-
201 finger and bite the lower lip. Chimuwa came down afterward--she had the same reaction.

123 A group of older men -- Kwiyamp, Wayakola, Wof, Yat, Marok, and War came to my house and sat around outside until about 8:00.

514 When Yat came up he made some scathing remarks about Mar's sister and mother for defecating near the path. Everyone joined in denouncing them.

821 Clouds came up from the South. Yat explained that Kar and War must have disturbed the marsalai that lives down there because the storm came from that direction. He had burned his garden by Sombundura today, but that was evidently all right.

587 February 28, 1937. Kuma, Latai's sister, was originally married to
578 Womma, War's younger brother. Womma died. Kuma went to Yelagu and married a man there. Later she left this man and returned to Hayamakwo to fulfill
518 the levirate with War. Three days ago she was with Kar and his second wife in his bush house. War had set some work for Kuma to do, and when he came that day, he found it was not done. She said that she had seen a ghost and the night before had been knocked out because of it. (She had actually gone through the motions). Kar's wife then spoke up that the trouble was the Kar had been having intercourse with Kuma. At this War beat Kuma and gave Kar a tongue lashing. Kar said it was not true. Kuma went home in a huff, packed up all her things, took her daughter and set off for Yelagu. Kar was very upset because he was afraid that she would sorcerize him. He tried to dissuade her, but to no avail. For the last two days Kar has

578 [123] been upset because War still thinks he is guilty. Kar says that he is fed up with the place here and will go with/when I go. He says he does not feel like working.

527 262 [754] [692] [252] Last night gongs announced a Yenama pig-eating feast (or that is what they said). I went this morning. It developed that it was a court to discover who was sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. When we arrived Mas and Sof were boiling the pig which Sowinambi had shot. Yesterday afternoon they had eaten the brains, kidneys, heart, liver, and belly. Now they had cut the rest in big chunks, without removing the skin and hair, and [915] [262] were boiling it in two large pots. The pots were not large enough to hold it all, so the chunks were put in and taken out with bamboo tongs. When the meat was done, bananas, spinach, and yams were put in the soup and boiled. The bananas were greasy, and the outer skin was peeled off with [123] the finger nail. I suggested a knife, but Sowinambi explained that the soup was for the big men and must be done this way. Sowinambi said that he [123] and Sof had to do all the work because they had no boys to help them. I helped. Some of the others made remarks -- it was not quite right for me to be doing it, but others said never mind; it was all right. The spinach was torn up by hand and put in. The yams were peeled and cut in parts.

695 754 The men kept coming three or four at a time until there were about fifty there. There were greetings and general talk until finally it seemed that all who were coming had arrived, and Ngeyamas (a big man of Afokalisa) got up and began talking in a loud voice. "Sowinambi's wife had been poisoned. Who has done it? I am Sowambi's (kinship term) and I will fight anyone who is doing it." He stood up and stamped his foot on the ground [123] and held his hand over his head as if holding a spear. In the days before the white men (probably now if I hadn't been there) they actually held a spear.

224 made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and
[518] accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and
[648] ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungwi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields. Mawandaya has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old Hayamakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkura. They have built a new little one and call it Cumbwinambara. Pokwago is pregnant. Yat wants to take Mawandaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears
627 stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group from Sombundura and Wey came by covered from head to foot with mud. They had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making accusations.

439 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Yambon this morning. Rwal was
241 cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, Mey, Mar, Asanampa, Way, Kawas helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed so I continued to Masa's on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

754 all the men suspected of poisoning to blow on a leaf. If the man does
755 not do this, it is proof of his guilt. If he is the poisoner and does this,
the sick person will recover."

593 March 8, 1937. War went to Yelagu alone. He held one spear poised in
[411] his hand and two others cradled in his left arm. When the Yelagus saw him
coming, they all ran away--women, children, etc. One old man stayed behind.
[231] He killed a dog and gave it to War and told him that he had nothing to
[431] do with Asenamps, that she had run away, and he did not know where she was.
War told him to give him some'tambu'too, which he did, and War returned.
War carries three spears with him wherever he goes.

342 March 11, 1937. I went to watch them building a bush house (to teach boys--
Mar, Kumb, Mas, May, Owiyap and Mar). It is a little way off on the road
to the market on a small mountain. They used saplings for side posts; two
center posts and ridge pole were cut. The roof was of marratta, but there
were no sides. Spathes were split and two put on at a time. Then two
were put on in other directions and all four tied.

600 March 12, 1937. Hayamakwa went to Sowinambi's again. Kumb was breaking
ground. Kar was washing sago.

578 March 18, 1937. I came back from the station. Fit has returned. May
says he will not fight him because his father said "i no nother pelo man".
Despite this, however, says May, he would fight him if he wanted to.

754 March 21, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Kwalump and a large gang from
578 Wenyambankura came by. They had been to Sowinambi's for sunga mweni. They
had spears. Say came to Yat's and told him that the result of the talk of
the day was that since there were no Hayamakwa present, it was they who were
responsible for poison. Yat grabbed a spear (so he says) and called on
Monsoy to fight, but Monsoy refused. He came by the house towards dark

754 carrying a spear. Later I heard loud voices at the house tamberan, so I
578 went down. It seems that someone brought word that Kwalump was responsible for the accusation of the Kaysmakwe, and people are becoming annoyed with him and brought up the fact that they mistrusted his father for killing [648] Mar's brother. Kar brought up the fact that he and other Kaysmakwe had hidden Kwalump from the police, and now they thought they would turn him over to them.

123 After I had stayed for a while, Wof politely asked me to leave. I went to Wof's house and sat down with all the women and May. Chinawa rubbed my arms, and Kwiyakay and Awa giggilingly protested and pretended to be shocked.

522 March 23, 1937. I went to Mar's with Gwiyap. Awa and Kwiya were there. Gwiyap began walking around with a stick between his legs telling the girls that Fit's penis had been stiff that morning 'just like this'. Fit became annoyed and said it wasn't so. Gwiyap kept teasing him for some time about it. The girls thought Gwiyap very funny but gave Fit a piece of their mind for having had an erection in public.

241 March 24, 1937. Mar plans to go to the bush to tie up yams.

576 March 26, 1937. When news came of Sowinambi's accident (he had been bitten by a wild pig), Mar, Wof, Mar, Yat, and Wayakela went to pay respects.

231 March 27, 1937. Marok's dog died this afternoon. I went down to his house to find him sitting in the new house, very glum. Uka was sitting outside, but did not return my greeting. The dog was lying in the old house, Marok's wife sitting beside it. Uka came to the doorway, looked at the dog, and started sobbing -- it was restrained, not a wail. Chinawa came and started wailing, took the dog in her lap, and continued until I left.

231 Kwiya came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told me
682 that the dog had died because someone had tried to poison both Mar and Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just [766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had [262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a net bag and hung in a tree. If Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.
231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

224 March 26, 1937. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw
[231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and caught him by the hand. Yat was nearby and came up and speared it, killing it, but sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and May and Awambaka went to Uranbaj to make payment on May's wife to be.

578 April 2, 1937. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth
421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Qwiyap because he had been cutting
[602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his mam (mother's brother). It is also War's mam and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants reparation. Qwiyap says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect right to the sago since his mam told him he could cut it. He has decided that what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of obligation to pay mam at hant sunviye. He is afraid that if he does not pay War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark from me which he considers to be enough.

857 Fit and May have been playing all afternoon. May was chasing Fit.
752 About 5:00 May caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside May's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for May's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. May did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 May, Afalowanj, Herak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house temberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwums were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them men but use their name. His daughter, Hamna, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

489 Today there was a market with Yambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

761 A man of Dusus died this afternoon. He was an old man, so it was
534 taken as a matter of course. There was not much talk about sorcery,
[764] although it was agreed that he died of sunga (poison). Just after sundown, the gongs of all the house tamberans were tolled simultaneously, as a tribute. It was very affective. War and Way tolled the Rumbima gongs.

824 Kwiya had brought back the roots of wank, a swamp grown tree with aerial roots. The bark had been removed. She was whipping it against a tree and shredding it, taking out fine strong threads about eight feet long. War stopped in and took one of the roots.

602 I was down at Mar's when Wof began ranting about, and calling for Uka.
578 There was no firewood. Why hadn't she brought it? After scolding her, he gave her a couple of thumps on the back with the flat of his hand which I could hear distinctly. Uka began crying. Kwiya, Awambaka and Yawa were angry with Wof for this. Awambaka told me to go up and fight him. Mar and Owiyap said nothing.

861 Kum broke Owiyap's belt by playing with it. Owiyap, Kwiya, and Awa began scolding him for it. He was standing just outside the house. They told him to come and get beaten. Kum stood still leaning on a shovel and did not answer or move. Owiyap did not go after him.

124 I tried to get Awa to give me kinship terms this morning, but she wouldn't despite/half hour's cajoling and threatening. Tonight at her house, she gave them willingly.

586 Mamsoy came through on the way back from Tangwishamp. He had helped the "finish timers" carry their bones and had gone to collect pay for his no. 2 wife, Tangwahak who had left him to marry a Tangwishamp. The story is that Mamsoy beat up his no. 1 wife and no. 2 had run away. When he arrived at Tangwishamp, he found that she and her new husband had gone to Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

123 685 He is old enough to know better. He does not belong to another sib, he belongs to Rumbime--its bad business.)

224 752 Noel came with his eyes swollen and a big bruise on his forehead. He had tried to shoot a pig, and the spear had somehow bounced back and struck him. Kwalump, War, and the others berated him for trying to shoot a pig because he was too young.

593 578 April 12, 1937. Some people gathered at Wof's last night and talked. There were a couple of loud thumps and then Kaya started wailing. Owiyap said that she was complaining about mosquitoes, and Wof told her to be quiet or she would attract more. She persisted, and Wof hit her across the shoulders with a stave. The loud voices continued for about an hour, then abated and a little later laughter followed; Kaya and Wof laughing the loudest of all.

534 271 Yatiminj, Kar, War, Marok, and Mar are working on a gong. War is the boss worker and is not drinking water or eating hot water until it is finished "so it will come up good."

838 This afternoon Cimpangai came in. The first thing he did was ask where his wife Masamokwat was. All afternoon he played the homosexual game with the house boys.

123 685 Awa came up this afternoon and wanted to know the truth of the Wayakala affair (stealing). I told him, and he said it would be a good thing to "cal-abooss" him because he was a notorious sorcerer, stealing materials here and there and making trouble. Moy said that Way's wife had threatened to cut a kunda and threatened to beat up the house boys and me tomorrow.

Kar came saying they had talked with Way, and he was going to return the knife.

578 Tonight loud shouting was heard between Wof who was at my house and War at the house tamberan. It was a recurrence of the Yalangu affair. It

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting
[372] around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was
136 at the house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly.
[576] Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 April 13, 1937. Afok and Pokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is con-
476 spicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 Chinawa and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work
863 room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 Mes is now our shoot boy, as Mamb has quit. Yesterday Mes killed
784 two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that
226 he could not eat any. Mes realized that he should not eat them because he
[177] had killed them, but Owiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mes was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalization that Mamb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

578 Tevalas came by and reported that last night there was some sort of fight at Sumwe Sumwe. They were vague about it, but the upshot of it is that somebody burned someone else's house. Gwiyap shook his head and said he thought there would be trouble.

829 787 Gwiyap and Mas just voiced their disgust at the Yambon because they defecated close to the house. Mar dreamed last night that "masta Bobbit" came and brought plenty of "lap laps," singlets, etc. and gave them to him.

Gwiyap napped this afternoon and dreamed something about Mas and woke up calling to him.

533 202 825 789 April 19, 1937. Last night after I had gone to bed (about 9:30), the Tangwishamps began beating their gongs. First there was a message on a big gong, and then the rhythm was carried out on all the gongs: kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kura kura kura. Soon afterward, this was repeated at Sombundura, and then at Afokelis. Then Kaya called out to Gwiyap, who ran down to Rumbima, and Yet, Way, and Gwiyap repeated the message. They were sending it to Wasmanj, a gwailowga (carved wooden figure) in the form of a crocodile, who lives in the sago swamp on the road between here and Tangwishamp. Wasmanj was responsible for sending the mosquitoes which had come up in a great swarm in the evening. There was such a swarm outside my net that their humming seemed almost deafening; everyone was restless and slapping and shouting. It is believed that the mosquitoes live in the belly of this marsalai and that Wasmanj is responsible for sending or letting them out. The gong message was sent out in the form of a threat, and not as a prayer. The pleasure of running down and playing on the gongs, as well as the irritation against the mosquitoes, definitely entered into the stimulus for the action. Wasmanj is a gwailowga of the Wamyi people.

000 May 14, Owiyap 12, Mar 17. Mas is the same age as Mar.

Afek came up, said that the talk has died over Bof and the cook, and that the story was not true. He had not hit her with an axe but with a kunde (Wonka kumba) and had bruised her mouth and eyebrow.

April 21, 1937. Kar and Kis came early this morning. Pwisambi went by before dawn to work taking out the yams of her mother's brother. Kar was 685 decorating a new wafa agusa. Kar said he had gone to court about Wog's 587 house burning. The situation is this: Ngasawar went away to work for the 684 white man and died there --Awa, also of Sumwo Sumwo married his widow through 578 the operation of levirate. The other day he had intercourse with the wife 582 of Nyamatanp, Wajumbai, who is now working at Bulolo. This is a double breach of the mores -- first marrying brother's wife and second, being married to 2 women who call each other laka kumwa (older sister>younger sister). Woyafoka was justly angry about this and made a big fuss. He called Awa some names he didn't like and challenged him to fight, etc.

Awa was incensed at this and came to Wog's house late at night and set fire to it. Wog did not wake up until the fire was well under way, so he had no time to save any of his property. The next day Awa fled to Tangwishamp with his two wives.

582 Kar said that the reason War gave for not wanting to let Aya marry Mar was because he had already married one girl from Woyanoka and it is against the mores to marry two women from the same sib unless the first wife had died.

578 Owiyap said that if Awa had stayed he would have been speared by Way. The others would have assisted by holding Awa.

123 I worked with War most all day and washed photographs in the afternoon.
126 Marok and Kaopyap came asking for theirs.

November 17, 1936.

115 [584] [123] Mar asked me for a razor blade to give Aya. She has indicated that she wants to get married, and Mar feels he has a good chance of winning her. Aya is the daughter of War, who lives not far from Mar's house. War is a highly respected member of the sib, a man of about 50, and noted for sorcery. Aya [582] is an attractive girl of 17. Mar and Aya have no traceable common ancestor, so no incest rules apply to their relationship, but they are both members of the same sib, and marriage of such is definitely frowned upon.

November 21, 1936.

115 578 582 Just after I had gone to bed, Mar began shouting excitedly back and forth with someone down the mountainside. Then he came in and sat next to my bed. He explained that he had been arguing with War. The latter found out about Mar's intentions with Aya. He had just shouted angrily at Mar, "You stay away from my daughter. You are nothing but an excrement eater. Do you think that I am going to let her marry someone from the same sib?" When Mar told me this he asked plaintively, "Do you think that I am an excrement eater." I reassured him. Mar then bit his underlip, raised his hand and shook it as though he were balancing a spear, saying, "That damn War! I am going to fight him tomorrow and break his nose." "Why don't you do it now, Mar?" "It's too dark, but I'll do it tomorrow." The fight did not eventuate. (War's objection to Mar as a husband for Aya was that they are members of the same sib, and such a marriage is frowned upon.)

December 9, 1936.

*115 The day before yesterday Gwiyap said that he felt sick. We took his
123 temperature--it was 103°. We gave him five grains of quinine and told him
to go to bed. This he would not do. He kept rushing about. As usual,
[753] he could not keep still. There was no talk of his being "poisoned," and
he would not admit that he was very sick. (Contrast with Mar). The next
day, he was all right.

578 There is some talk of a feud between Howel (Sow's child) and Gwiyap.
*115 Gwiyap says that he is going to fight him if he comes around the house and
he told us not to be cross with him if he beats Howel up.

January 21, 1937.

583 Gwiyap's yaka (paternal aunt), his father's (Siyowa's) younger sister
[736] Uka, was cared for by Siyowa after their father died. Uka was married to
a man from Duwus who did not have the money to pay for her at once. If
he had been able to pay for her, the money would have gone to Siyowa.
[837] Her husband went to work at Bululo, and there were many who wanted to
have intercourse with her. Siyowa would not let them, saying that if her
husband returned, he would be ashamed if she had had intercourse with others.
Those who desired her were angry at this and sorcerized Siyowa, and he died.
[428] Before his death, however, he told Gwiyap that when the pay came for Uka,
it would go to him. (I think this is a rationalization of normal inheritance).
Since Siyowa's death, Marok had been looking out for Uka.